1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, 000
in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Ronald Cohen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of 114
Wisconsin in 1960. He has taught anthropology at the University of Toronto from 1958 to 1961, at McGill University from 1961 to 1963, and from 1963 to the present at Northwestern University where he is a member of the Program of African Studies and Associate Professor of Anthropology and Political Science. He has carried out fieldwork in Nigeria and in the Mackenzie Valley, Northwest Territories, Canada. He is interested in social and political change as well as problems of theory and method in the social sciences. Professor Cohen has published papers on aspects of Kanuri society and history, Athabascan culture change, and a number of theoretical and methodological problems in anthropology.

About the Book

This case study has a clear central focus. The author shows us how the various sectors of Kanuri social life build upon and interrelate to the basic unit of Kanuri 121 • 128
society, the household organization. He claims the basic theory of their society is not his own but that of the Kanuri themselves as they have tried to explain their society to him. In doing so they continually refer back to the household. The household, or compound, is the basic political unit; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. The economic system is dependent upon the household, since the business of getting a living is organized within it, and households link together through their head men to form larger organizations for the produc-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

• 121 128 tion of goods or for trade. Family life is carried on in the household, and ways of behaving that are acceptable and necessary in Kanuri life are learned there.

The descriptive analysis of these interdependent relationships centering upon the household is far from mechanistic. Though the structural features of groupings and the modal patterns of activities are made very clear, there is a sense of immediacy in their description. Actual behavior is described and vignettes of individuals and their behaviors, relevant to various sectors of life, are included.

This case study is notable in a number of other ways, but particularly in the sense of history conveyed. In a necessarily brief but informative historical sketch the author shows us how the emirate of Bornu, established in the late fifteenth century, survived insurrection, warfare, colonialism, and even today survives within the framework of national independence as a viable social and political entity. The author ends his historical overview with these questions: "Why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times?" The case study is, in one of its dimensions, an answer to these questions.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

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1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. People from other areas of Nigeria and Europeans claim it is a difficult language to learn. But this is probably due to the fact that the most widespread language of Northern Nigeria is Hausa, and many outsiders find they can get along with Hausa in the cities and larger towns without having to make the effort to learn Kanuri. Certainly today most Kanuri school children know some Hausa, and facility with it is spreading throughout all of Northern Nigeria.

Distinctive Kanuri cultural features, things which are of unique Kanuri origin, are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are, if you like, diagnostic features that indicate Bornu-ness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most striking feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles the form of a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front-center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back. Today a few of the young school girls are beginning to give up this traditional Kanuri coiffure and are taking on instead the Shuwa-Arab style of a smooth top of the head with hundreds of small braids clinging tightly to the sides and back of the head, at the ends of which are either loose ringlets or a pageboy effect.

Other features which are unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings. These items are also unique to each ethnic group in the region, as are tribal marks cut on the face. Thus many unique features of Kanuri traditional life are thought of locally by many peoples as differentiating criteria for separating one ethnic group from another. A Northern Nigerian going to a market in Jos, or Maiduguri, or Kano, can spot a Kanuri, Fulani, or a Hausa calabash design at a glance just as he can tell another person's ethnic group by his tribal marks, or spot a Bornu knife among a pile of others.

On the other hand, the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation, and education, who lives in Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the west of Bornu. They dress in a very similar manner, eat very similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors, and worship one's God. Thus although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life that is practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara desert.

Gathering the Material

I first arrived in Bornu in January 1956 and stayed there until August 1957. My next contacts occurred in the summers of 1964 and again in 1965, and hopefully I shall return in the future to study specialized topics to deepen my understanding of this society as it changes and progresses in the modern world. During our first visit my wife and I spent most of our time in the small village of Magumeri about thirty-three miles northwest of the capital. This was our home base. From here we also visited other parts of the emirate, especially the larger village of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Geidam in the north, where another anthropologist, Abraham Rosman, and his wife were working. Discussions with Dr. and Mrs. Rosman helped all of us to see many of the unique features of Kanuri life that stemmed from our particular towns as against more general Kanuri patterns of behavior that were widespread throughout the society. We also became acutely aware of the kinds of variations that could occur across communities as they varied in size, ethnic composition, and quality of the political leadership. At the end of the first field trip, my wife and I spent three months in the capital city of Maiduguri looking at government reports and district notebooks, and acquainting ourselves with many of the special activities that characterize courtly life at the center of the emirate.

In 1964 and again in 1965 I returned to Bornu. On my previous visit the country had been a colonial holding of Great Britain, now it was part of the independent nation of Nigeria. My task in this second visit was to gather statistics on marriage and on divorce rates. But it also gave me a chance to see old friends, and catch up on what had been happening locally since my last visit seven years earlier. Some changes were readily apparent. A large number of deep wells were sunk all over the province, and these now provide enough water for a greatly expanded livestock population. Everywhere the cattle are healthier, fatter, and above all much more in evidence. They block roads and are seen herded in large numbers to and fro wherever one wanders over the countryside. Furthermore the people are less afflicted by parasites because the deep water is uncontaminated, as much of it was not during my first visit. There is now a large modern abattoir and a ground-nut oil refinery in the capital city, and in late 1964 the Nigerian railway finally pushed through to Maiduguri to connect the Bornu capital with Nigeria's national railway system. On the other hand, detailed questions about various traditional practices indicated that there have been few changes at the cultural and social level. At the political level where there were English District Officers and other officials of the regional government, now these posts are filled by Nigerians, generally from other parts of northern Nigeria. However it is for the most part correct to use the present tense in describing Bornu, and when this is not true I will attempt to mention the special circumstances that have brought on the changes.

Magumeri, our home for seventeen months in 1956 and 1957, sits on top of one of the ridges of Bornu, and there is a steep climb onto it from the motor road that travels along the bottom of the ridge for most of the year. During the rains, the road runs along the sandy top of the ridge, to keep clear of the large muddy areas formed at the ridge bottom. Magumeri includes approximately 2000 people about half of whom live in surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. It is a district capital and thus has a two-room primary school, a court house, and the large compound of the district head who administers twenty-one village areas, containing 50,000 people, living in an area of approximately 850 square miles. The village has a weekly market on Sunday, and is divided up into a number of wards under the village area head who is also the political leader of its surrounding hamlets and officially the political subordinate of the district head. Except for the fact that it has a somewhat lower proportion of non-Kanuri compared to most others, Magumeri is a "typical" Bornu village in terms of its size, occupational ranges of the population, and influences it receives from the capital and the world beyond the emirate. Indeed this is why I chose to spend most of my time

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

In summary, then, the methods were those traditionally associated with social anthropology, namely a long period in the field, learning the language, getting to know the people on a face to face basis, while participating, observing, and asking questions about the local social life. This is the basic experience from which the material described in this book is drawn.

Ethnography and Theory

By definition a case study such as this involves a description of the way of life of a people. However, no description is ever complete, nor is it a sheer listing of facts. The facts are related to one another, and many are left out. The basis for selection is, whether he knows it or not, a net result of the writer's theories and his biases. In this present work I have decided to describe what I consider to be the most important aspect of Kanuri society, and by this I mean those features which are its most determinant or causal aspects. This kind of approach can be seen more clearly when put into the form of a question phrased as follows: What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment, and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society? Specifically, I have tried to answer this question by showing how each of the major sectors of Kanuri social life, the family, the household, the individual life experience, the political, and the economic systems, are related to one another, through their use of the household organization and its modes of behavior. The household is a model, and a building block as well, upon which the rest of the complicated activities of the Bornu society rests. I will come back to this point in the concluding chapter after having described the way in which the society actually works as a "system," or an organized whole, in accordance with this theory. However it should be noted that I have excluded religion and ceremonial life as "major sectors." For purposes of this report I consider them superfluous to the problem outlined above and have therefore mentioned them only when such material seems necessary. Even then they are integrated into other sectors and not treated separately.

It is up to the reader to ask whether or not I have made a convincing case by using this theory, or whether these facts could be explained in ways other than the manner they are interpreted here. If skepticism holds firm, the reader should ask whether my interpretation would be weakened if facts not presented here were described. He should also ask himself what these facts might be, and how he would go about collecting them. Ethnography is in one sense a naïve undertaking, especially for a society as complicated and ancient as that of the Kanuri. How can we ever say we have adequately described a whole society of nearly one million people whose traditions go back a thousand years? Obviously we can't. And so we attempt instead to capture its essence. In what is to follow I have tried to do just that. If I am wrong, or naïve, or illogical, I am also of the anthropological faith which preaches that the attempt to understand a human society through fieldwork is a scientifically useful one besides being one of the most profound experiences that life has to offer.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

2

History

Kanem-Bornu: The Historical Background

121

THIS BOOK is primarily an account of the way of life of a contemporary African people. However this particular group, unlike many others in Africa or elsewhere, has an ancient and well-documented history. The fact that such materials are available also means that we can observe the kingdom as it developed through time and obtain some appreciation for its continuity and change as one of the oldest political powers in Africa. I have therefore tried to bring together in summary form an account of Bornu history and its political development during the last millenium of southern Saharan history. In terms of the overall ethnolgraphic task it is important to realize that it is within this historical stream that the 814 contemporary way of life has come to be what it is. Indeed one of the most salient facts about Kanuri culture is the pride the people feel in their history; they believe that one cannot know them unless there is at the same time some understanding of their past. In order to do this I have written first an outline of the major events of this history, then analyzed the political development of the kingdom as it evolved through time. The details of the present political system are then taken up again in Chapter 6.

173 169 Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Like many peoples of West Africa as far removed from one another as the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fulani of Futa Djallon in Guinea, Kanuri traditions suggest that they as a people come originally from Yemen. It is said that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. There is very little doubt that the ancient dynasty of the Sefuwa has been in fact the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. However, there is very little evidence except for the legend itself to support the theory that the Kanuri or their ancient leaders originate in Yemen.

121 The problem of studying human origins scientifically is a fascinating one, but there are many pitfalls and a keen taste for skepticism is a primary requirement. The rules of the game are, however, quite easy. Simply ask what valid facts

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

are available, then try for the best explanation knowing that new facts will very probably force a change in the historical picture you have created to best explain the facts. The greater the number of facts, the fewer the possible number of different historical interpretations that can be applied to any particular case. With these rules in mind let us examine briefly what facts are at hand to help us with Kanuri origins.

First of all we have the Kanuri legends themselves which state that they came originally from Yemen—a legend they share with most of the Muslim peoples of the western Sudan. Let us call this the local theory and come back to it after considering other available facts. Subsistence farming and cattle keeping came into the area of the central and western Sahara about 5000 years ago, as evidenced by a number of archaeological sites in the area. At that time the Tibesti region north of Lake Chad was much wetter and the lake itself was enormous. It stretched well into the Sahara desert, especially into a region just south of the Tibesti known as the Bodele depression, which even today is well below the present level of Lake Chad itself. People settled in this region and utilized both domesticated plants and animals for their basic means of subsistence. Since that time, however, there has been a steady desiccation of the central Sahara which has dried up the Tibesti and the Bodele depression while the water has retreated in a southwesterly direction towards the present site of Lake Chad. As late as 500 B.C. merchants from Carthage were voyaging to the Tibesti to trade with people who lived in a wet climate among crocodiles, hippopotami, and giraffes.[1] Certainly what evidence we have suggests a very ancient trade between the people of the entire Sahara and those of North Africa. This was much expanded by the introduction of the camel sometime in the first or second century A.D. which facilitated trade across much drier portions of desert and over much longer distances. If we add to this evidence the fact that the Kanuri language is related to the central Saharan group of languages—and these are as a group only very distantly related to all other African language families—then a picture or at least a theory begins to emerge.

The Neolithic agriculturalists in the southern Sahara were drawn further south between 1000 B.C. and 1000 A.D. as the waters of the desert began to recede southward.[2] As they moved southward they pulled the Saharan trade with them, and competition among groups in the Chad basin produced some differences in power and recognized status among clans who lived in the area. Leading lineages within these clans began to unite to govern the activities of clan members until finally the various clans formed loose federations with a leading clan and its leading lineage as the royal or kingly one.[3]

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[1] See Rhys Carpenter, "A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus," *Journal of American Archaeology*, Vol. 60, 1956, pp. 231–42.

[2] This process was also occurring in another area of "desert capture," the upper Niger bend where desert wet regions north of the river receded towards the south. The Niger itself bends into the Sahara, because like the Chad basin there are lowlands to the north of the great bend. Thus it is no accident that the Chad basin and the upper Niger bend have witnessed some of the earliest developments of centralized states in the western Sudan—they were the two areas into which the people of the desert could most naturally and easily move as desiccation proceeded.

[3] In his book on Bunyoro, John Beattie very concisely defines a lineage as "all the descendants in one line (that is, either through males only or through females only) of a particular person through a specified number of generations. It differs from a *clan* in that while usually all the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

throughout the emirate. Roads were built connecting the district capitals to Maiduguri, the major city of Bornu and to one another, and district capital markets came to be among the most active because of the increased population in the district capitals not producing their own goods.

In the economic sphere the colonial era sounded a death knell for the Saharan trade. A dribble of caravan trade still exists, but it was the express policy of the British to face Bornu around and turn its trade toward Nigeria and the Nigerian ports. Caravans were heavily taxed, and European trading companies were encouraged to move into Bornu and start circulating cash and cheap import goods. These few large English and French trading companies encouraged the appearance of a corps of Levantine traders who are ubiquitous in West Africa. They take credit from the large companies, giving it out again to large numbers of Africans who buy and sell for them. By the second world war ground-nuts were a well established cash crop, marketed through these companies although controlled by the government. When inflationary boom prices for ground-nuts hit Bornu after the war, the people were ready to take full advantage of it and there was a surge upwards of consumer buying, so that radios, bicycles, and many other industrial commodities became part of local life. On the other hand, judging by the surprise registered in the annual reports of the colonical officials, the government was a little stunned at first to know what to do with its increased revenues. However a host of new improvements began to be an accepted part of life in the public sector, just as new import items became common to the private sector. The most recent of such changes has already been mentioned in Chapter 1. After independence, the digging of deep wells increased the cattle population enormously and has provided a basis for further development in the area. This, then, is the Bornu background. It is a long and eventful one—and the people are proud of it. For an anthropologist, one of the most intriguing questions to ask is "why"—why has Bornu lasted so long in this area? Why has it adapted so well to modern times? It has absorbed Shehu Laminu's destruction of the Sefuwa dynasty, Rabeh's conquest, the colonial overlordship, and national independence in its calm stride. Its leaders and its people are remarkably stable—yet not enslaved by tradition. Indeed they strive to change and develop Bornu and their future is a bright and hopeful one. In the chapters to follow I hope to provide answers to these questions in order that we may ask them again after considering in more detail the quality of life in Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

3

The Family and Household in Bornu

AFTER SUMMARIZING the historical background and the setting of Kanuri life, I can now proceed to analyze the society as a working, on-going whole, in other words as a process. Anthropologists generally do this by dividing the society up into what they consider to be its most significant parts. They then describe each part and try to show how these parts are related to one another, and to the functioning of a whole society. The manner in which such an analysis proceeds—what is left out, what is included, and what comes first or last—is the product of the author's "functional theory" of the society, his idea of how it works.

For Kanuri society I have chosen to start with kinship and the household as the first parts of the whole to be described and understood. First, the household is where the Kanuri themselves begin to learn of their own society and how they must act to become full-fledged participants. Secondly these parts, especially that of the household, form the basic units of Kanuri social structure such that almost all other social life in Bornu can be analyzed and understood once these particular parts are described. To start with a description of any other part of the society such as the economic or the political organization would require explanations and references to family and household life in order to make the material understandable to the reader. It is better to start the analysis at this point—that of kinship and household—then proceed to build up a picture of the society having first looked at what I consider to be its crucible, the kinship system, and its cornerstone, the household.

The Kinship System

The kinship system of any society involves three categories of behavior that may overlap one another but are always different from each other. They are as follows:

(a) Genealogical relations—the links between individuals which are based upon biological reproduction.

(b) Descent relations—the links between individuals which are based upon

121 60 61 the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may include only part of them.

(e) Affinal relations—the links between individuals which are based upon marriage through the socially recognized union of a husband and wife.

601 602 The Kanuri separate genealogical relations from those of descent just as we do by speaking of distant relations. They have a special word for such people, although many younger people today do not use it, and simply describe such people as "distant" or "far away" in the same way that Kano is far away from Maiduguri. The traditional word refers to a vine that grows around a household wall and then continues to reach out and grow on the walls of adjoining households. However the vines all stem from one root, just as an expanded genealogical tree can be viewed as coming from one man and his wife or wives. These distant kin do not attend one another's family ceremonies or send gifts on important occasions. Indeed their whereabouts are often not very well known to the person speaking of them. Many Kanuri can give quite a large number of such kin especially in their parents' generation, their own, and that of their children. On the other hand, like Americans, they find it difficult to remember relatives back beyond their grandparents even though there is a special kinship term for great-grandparents, and only a few people can name the brothers and sisters of their grandparents. Exceptions to this occur in increasing degree as families become more and more aristocratic. Such families retain the memory of important male ancestors in their genealogy much further back than do ordinary people; indeed they often maintain special persons to keep the memory alive.

601 611 Set into the genealogy of any Kanuri individual is his own descent group. In anthropological jargon—used because once understood, it is technically efficient—this group is reckoned cognatically with an agnatic emphasis. That is to say, Kanuri descent groups are based upon an individual's relation to persons through both his father and mother (cognatic relationships); and a person feels equally related to all of his four grandparents. However there is an emphasis placed upon those related to a person through males only (agnatic or patrilineal descent) for a number of important activities. The father's cognatic descent group is called the family of the blood, and the mother's cognatic group is the family of the milk, while the word "family" (*dur*) refers to both father's and mother's side of the family. Other evidence for the cognatic quality can be seen in the words used for various relatives in the descent group. There are no distinctions between mother's side and father's side in the terms for great-grandparent and grandparent, and although there are significant differences in the terms used to refer to relatives of the parent's generation level, cousins on both mother's and father's sides can be lumped under one term, which is the same as the one used to refer to a brother or a sister. On the other hand, there are differences between the mother's and the father's side which we refer to as an agnatic emphasis.

611 671 428 562 578 This emphasis can be easily seen in inheritance and when a man goes to court. The Kanuri follow Islamic inheritance law in which men receive two portions to every one given to a woman. Thus it is twice as important to be related to your father as your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth to be inherited and so on. These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in

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4

The Life Cycle: From Birth to Death in Kanuri Society

THE HISTORY of Kanuri society, its family and household organization, and the other groupings described later in this book that make it into a system, are all activated and made real by the people who spend their lives in Bornu. Kanuri society, indeed any society, can be described by giving the major details of its organized social life. However, such a description uses as its units the roles and groups that make up each organization. The units (roles and groups) are separate parts of the system, but it is important to remember that roles and groups are stage settings for the behavior of real people who are born, grow up, love, hate, get married, grow old and die. Some are more successful, some less so, but the way in which they live a Kanuri life from beginning to end is what produces the energy, the continuity, and the change within the structure of their society.

Like people everywhere the Kanuri see a pattern in the life span of individuals. This is thought of as a series of stages or grades determined fundamentally by age and sex. Whether he or she be rich or poor, peasant, slave, or of royal blood these stages still apply and mark off a lifetime. Like age grades in all societies there is a rough correlation at each stage with that of physiological growth, maturation and decline. However, the specific factors of local geography and the adaptation to it, as well as their social complexity and culture history, have molded the grades into the specific set of life stages that can be called Kanuri. In the future, the forces of modernism will add their weight to this stream and produce changes in this traditional cycle. For the present, however, I want to present a picture of a Kanuri lifetime, as my informants report it and as I have observed it in Bornu, starting with gestation and ending with the death of an individual.

Gestation

Kanuri men and women almost universally claim that having children is desirable for married couples, although charms that both promote and prevent pregnancy can be obtained locally from specialists. The culture norms on this point are

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

5

The Economic Life

121 433 NO MATTER WHERE or who they are the members of every human society must have some means by which they obtain the material goods and services deemed valuable and important to their way of life. How these goods are produced, distributed, and consumed forms the basis of the economic system of any society. However, for our present purposes the details of production are beside the point, for they deal with the local technology rather than the economy in the sense that this economy is part of the social system. Therefore, I will restrict the present chapter to the various units of Kanuri economy and its interrelationships which provide the means by which economic life is successfully carried on in Bornu.

433 The Kanuri do not have factories to produce goods, there are only a few large trading companies, and there are even fewer large institutional consumers of goods and services such as hospitals, schools, factories, armed forces, hotels, and so on. The bulk of the people is spread out over the entire area of Bornu in small [162] towns and hamlets, and even in the few cities the basic economic facts of life for most of the households are very similar to those throughout the entire area. Villages and hamlets are only economic units to the extent that they have boundaries, and all the land is held by virtue of one's residence in a particular village or hamlet. However towns do not act corporately for most economic purposes. That is to say they do not buy and sell things as units, they do not organize the production of goods as units, nor do they organize the distribution of goods and services within [592] or between villages as units. The only level at which this is done consistently throughout the society is at the level of the household whose members do form themselves into a unit of production and consumption.

592 It is important to remember from Chapter 3 that a household is not the same thing as the family. Very high divorce and fairly high mobility of the household members in general means that the people living in a Kanuri household can and do change a great deal over time. The economic life of the household, however, may not have changed at all. Just as personnel turnover does not change the basic nature of a business firm in western society, so does it have little effect on the jobs to be done and how they are carried out in a Kanuri household.

[433] There are other units in the economy, and as we describe the major features

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

6

The Political Organization

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THE POLITICAL LIFE of Bornu ties togther the entire society into one overall unit so that it has an identity. As far as we know this has been the case for centuries and still is today, so that, although the Kanuri people see themselves and their society as many things, they view it primarily or basically as a political entity. To the people who live there Bornu represents a culture, a language, an ancient history, but more than anything else it represents a kingdom, or sovereign realm whose definition is political. Thus whether anyone belongs to it or not, and how one should behave within its boundaries depends first and foremost on its organization as a polity, that is, as a system in which there are recognized and legitimate means of distributing authority and making decisions at all levels of the society.

Authority distinctions are present in all organizations, and from this point of view all organizations have a political aspect. However, for our purposes it is easier to limit the discussion to the means by which decisions are made and carried out in those particular sectors of social life having some territorial or bureaucratic identity as sub-parts of the emirate government of Bornu. This excludes such things as trade groupings, like that of Ajimi's uncle described in the last chapter in which there is some hierarchy of authority, but which may not be, and often is not, located in one place. It also means that what we are discussing is a system, since each of its parts is clearly connected to the other to form a working whole. Like most other aspects of Bornu life, this system starts with the household as a basic particle and then builds onto it. It is a complicated and interwoven structure of an ancient, majestic, and yet contemporary kingdom whose stability and adaptability are monuments to men's striving for these illusive goals.

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Households, Wards, and Hamlets

As we have seen in Chapter 3 a household can expand and become a group of linked households under the superior authority of a senior man. When a young man, or a man's younger brother, or his apprentice or client, wishes to get mar-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

7

Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

105 121 182 592 829 44 571 What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *barzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

105 121 178 It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators [648] are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding [177] western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

178 of the Kanuri, and the advantages which they have brought are readily understood. Other material changes--the postal system, telegraphs, electricity in Maiduguri, and the Maiduguri airport--only affect a small part of the population in the cities, and consequently are of minor importance.

654 178 Deliberate attempts have been made to institute changes in certain areas of Kanuri culture, with varying degrees of success. Agricultural programs have been introduced through the Bornu Native Authority. Veterinary and Forestry Depart- [743] ments also exist. Dispensaries run by Kanuri Malams exist in the larger towns. There is a hospital in Maiduguri staffed by [757] two European doctors. The Kanuri prefer their own form of treatment and rarely go to the dispensaries or to the hospital when ill. Nor do the Kanuri dispensars themselves have much faith in the medications which they distribute.

E. The Dynamics of Acculturation

101 The town of Geidam, in which the present study was carried [563] out, is in the northern part of Bornu, among a Kanuri sub-group 131 known as the Manga. Geidam is twenty-five miles south of Nigeria's northern boundary, a remote and somewhat isolated town 134 in one of the least developed provinces of Northern Nigeria. It is a town of mud surrounded by a world of sand, and the presence of the desert to the north is felt everywhere, in the land and in the people.

177 Though Kanuri culture is still an integrated and function- 121 ing whole, the influence of the Industrial West is bringing about

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• 121 significant changes. Remote as Geidam is, it is bound with ever increasing ties to the larger world. While Geidam is in a sense the center of its own small world, it is at the same time a minute part of an immense and continually expanding economic and political system.

This study focuses on changing Kanuri culture, on the process of acculturation. An acculturation study must begin with changes in the behavior of individuals. Yet the concept of culture comprises more than the behavior of individuals. It is concerned with behavior which characterizes a social whole, or segments of a society. When changes in the behavior of individuals are incorporated by the groups to which they belong, acculturation is occurring.

If one views acculturation in this way, it is clear that not all members of a society will show initial changes in cultural behavior, nor will changes occur at the same rate for all members. It is postulated here that one of the critical determinants of rate and type of acculturation in an individual's behavior is that individual's position in the community social structure. Because of their position in the society, certain individuals are in better positions than others to learn new things, to change in their thinking, their aspirations and their overt behavior. The rate of these changes and the particular areas of thinking and behaving which undergo change are considered as dependent upon the position of the individual in his society.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MSI4 Kanuri MSI4

121 621 The anthropological concept of the community is used to define a micro-society. The community of the present study is an urban town, and its people belong to a variety of sub-groups. The townspeople of Geidam are members of occupational groups, social classes, ethnic sub-groups, common interest groups, neighborhoods, and friendship groups. They may be members of many such groups, which may overlap, but they all share one characteristic--they are all Geidamites, part of an interacting community. The various interlocking social groups of the town make up its social structure.

121 177 In terms of the particular field situation, the general acculturation problem presented above becomes: In what ways does the process of acculturation differ among members of differing groups in the urban community of Geidam? Two related additional problems emerge from the general one. The original problem focuses attention on the manner in which social structure guides and directs acculturation. A necessary consequence is that the social structure itself is undergoing change. The second problem is: what are the changes in social structure brought about by contact? Lastly, a third and oft-neglected problem concerns the mechanisms whereby changes are controlled and kept within acceptable cultural limits so that the emergent social structure retains its integration. Generally, this falls within the area of social control, though it is not usually seen in this light.

121 Before the research itself can be presented, however, much

• |Z| additional information will have to be provided. Information on current changes in Kanuri culture can only be understood against a background which provides the norms of Kanuri culture. The particular measures of acculturation which were used in the present study can only be assessed when viewed against the overall picture of Kanuri culture.

Similarly, individuals who were chosen for study are members of community groups. The significance of such group membership can only be fully understood when the functioning of these groups is described in relation to other community groups, when something of the interaction between members of different groups is described so that the operation of community social structure becomes generally apparent.

Though the present study deals with a particular theoretical problem, it is nevertheless conceived of as a community study because it uses the community as the unit of study. However, the community will not be the means for providing a total ethnography of the Kanuri people. It is viewed here as a structured micro-society, within which the process of acculturation can be differentiated and studied. Through the concept of social structure, one can describe completely the activities of all of the various groups in the community. If one continues this process in detail, all the standard ethnographic categories, religion, economy, political organization, etc., will ultimately be fully described. This will not be attempted here. Rather, the general description of Geidam town will serve as a back-

121 ground for the activities of groups making up the social structure, so that the social structure of the community can be seen in its larger cultural context.

121 128 In the section immediately following, an overall picture of Kanuri culture will be presented, stressing the general features of Kanuri social organization. This will be followed by a section on the community of Geidam.

Lastly, the problem which was studied will be presented. This final section will include the theoretical orientation of the study, the manner in which the data were collected, the data on acculturation with their analysis, and the implications of the findings in relation to existing theory.

121 The variables which provide the conceptual basis of the present study are social structure and acculturation. Before one can single out individual groups and focus attention on behavioral patterns which are associated with those groups it is necessary to delineate the larger structural features of Kanuri society so that the particular groups which have been selected for more careful examination can be seen in their societal context. In similar fashion, acculturated behavior can only be evaluated when one has a general understanding of the more stable behavioral norms which characterize Kanuri culture. It is against the background of the expectable Kanuri behavioral patterns that items of acculturated behavior takes on significance.

177 178 It was noted in the previous chapter that important external forces are acting to bring about changes in Kanuri culture. While these are powerful forces, and the changes themselves are far-reaching and significant, Kanuri culture still retains its essential integration. This can be seen in several areas: in the consistency of people's behavior, in the stress placed on important Kanuri values, and in the integration of Kanuri personality which is apparent despite acculturation. The present chapter is devoted to the presentation of these general features of Kanuri culture.

A. Larger Features of the Economy

1. Ecology, Settlement Patterns and Land Tenure.

161 There are strong indications that the population of Bornu

779 58 [593] marriage contract, is a common Islamic feature. Sexual rights of the husband, as well as his responsibilities for the support of his wife, are supported by Islamic law. Lastly, Islam does not necessarily recognize marriage as a permanent arrangement; [182] consequently divorce is simple and commonly resorted to. All of these practices, commonly associated with Islamic societies, are characteristic of Kanuri society and are well integrated in Kanuri custom concerning marriage and the family.

D. The Community

162 [161] The population of Bornu Emirate is just over a million people. About one-third live in towns with a population of more than 7,000 (see Table I). Following Maiduguri, the capital, which has a total population of 83,327 including the outlying villages, but only 56,777 in the town proper, there are ten towns with populations exceeding 10,000. The average size of these ten towns is 13,879. There are 16 more towns in Bornu Emirate with populations of between 7,000 and 10,000. These 26 towns, plus Maiduguri proper, account for 325,640 people, almost a third of the population.

369 632 • 121 Although there may be some question whether a town with a population of 10,000 may properly be called "urban," it is clear that on the folk-urban continuum, such towns are distinctly approaching the urban pole[1]. These towns have few or none of the

1. If Miner can call Timbuktu, with its population of 6,500, a "primitive city," then these are certainly towns, or "urban centers." see Horace Miner, The Primitive City of Timbuktu (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [593] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (saggi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

614 178 as Shetima Mastafa, the Ajia of Kukawa. The head of the Kanembu Tomagari, is Alhaji Mai Manga of N'Guigmi, in Niger, not in [648] Nigeria. When Alhaji Mai Manga was appointed chief of his re- [643] gion by the French authorities the Shehu of Bornu, in British Nigeria, sent him a gown (kulugu) as his mark of office. It was necessary for him to obtain the traditional approval of the [363] Shehu before he could be accepted by the populace. The heads of Shuwa and Fulani jilis are given kulugus by the Shehu, which indicates the political nature of the jili, or sib. However, the heads of the Kanuri jilis today have no functions whatsoever. People come to pay them respect (noogna) as a result of their position, but this is all that remains attached to the position.

F. The System of Social Stratification.

175 565 The old Kanuri system of social stratification recognized four distinct social classes. These were royalty (ngalwo), aristocracy (kantuoma), commoners (talaka), and slaves (kalya). One can distinguish four separate variables, which, when taken together, determine the social importance of any category of individuals. These are: power, wealth, respect, and free-birth; among the Kanuri they can serve as criteria for determining the rank of a social class, or of a single individual within a class.

• 121 61 66 565 Power is a quality which can be used to define a social relationship, and which derives from the political structure

121 61 66 565 of a society. In societies where the state as an institution does not exist, political structure is either coterminous with kinship structure, or there is close co-ordination between the two. In the case of the Kanuri, the separate and distinct administrative organization which serves as the framework of the political structure,[1] implies a lessening of the role of kin groups to the point where they have disappeared among the Kanuri. Aside from relationships within the nuclear family, and to a lesser extent kinship relations generally, power derives its authority, among the Kanuri, from one's position in the political system, and the ability of one man to exert power over another is determined by the roles which the two men play in the political system.

121 556 565 Wealth as a variable used to determine the social importance of a single individual or of a category of individuals is analogous to power. Relative wealth defines a relationship between two individuals or two classes of individuals, and just as power derives from one's role in the political system, wealth derives from one's role in the economic system. In most primitive societies, the economic system is submerged within kinship and within the operation of kin groups. In some, the market has begun to emerge as a separate economic institution and increasingly social relationships are defined in terms of the market.

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1. the distinctions made here as to types of political systems are taken from the Introduction to African Political Systems, edited by Meyer Forres and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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441 wealthy and more powerful than at any previous time in Kanuri history.

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563 The old system of stratification was a rigid system. Present conditions have led to increased flexibility in the stratification system, by providing new avenues to power, to wealth and to prestige. This has meant that the relationship between categories of individuals within Kanuri society today is changed from the relationship which they maintained in former times. [12] These changes in the social structure become a focus of attention of the present study.

[GEIDAN]

• 121 The previous chapter has been devoted to an overall view of Kanuri culture, against which the recent changes brought about by contact with the industrial Western world can be measured. It is apparent that this description, which attempts to provide the general features of the culture, is primarily of what has been called ideal culture. It is generalized, highly abstract and frequently derives from statements by informants about how the 'good Kanuri' acts in various types of situation.

An anthropologist customarily studies a community, which occupies the focus of his analytical attention. From his study of a particular community, he makes judgments concerning behavior which he considers to be idiosyncratic for that community, selects out and discounts atypical aspects of the culture which are represented by his community, in order to arrive at a statement about the larger patterns of the culture with which he is concerned. In the study of small homogeneous cultures, it was usually not important to distinguish between the two processes since small total size and homogeneity meant that there were little or no differences between various communities. What held for one camp, one lineage, or one settlement, undoubtedly held for all. In the study of more complex cultures to which anthropologists have turned in the recent decades, of which the Kanuri are an example, it is imperative to recognize the dis-

[184] tinctions drawn here. Kanuri culture is large and heterogeneous, and has only the most incidental resemblance to an American Indian tribe or to an isolated Pacific island, the "type cul-

[GEIDAM]

121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
[109] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

[GEIDAM]

121 individual character, to an entire culture, many times the size of his single community.

The present study is, then, a community study, as must [101] usually be the case in the study of complex societies. The community is the town of Geidam, where the author and his wife lived for one year, from the ending of the rains in 1956 until the rains ceased once again in 1957.

A. The geography and ecology of Geidam.

162 632 Geidam, with its population of 11,032 is one of the largest towns in Bornu Province (see Table I) and represents urban Kanuri 563 culture. The people of the countryside between Geidam and 197 Nguru, some 110 miles to the west, are predominantly Manga, a Kanuri sub-group speaking a Kanuri dialect which differs slightly from Kanuri proper. To the east, towards Damasak, are Mobber, 101 another sub-group. In the town of Geidam, however, the towns- 197 [369] folk are Kanuri, and speak standard Kanuri. This is primarily because urban Kanuri in Geidam have more in common with urban Kanuri coming from other large towns and cities, and share more with them than they do with the farming peoples of the small villages surrounding Geidam.

131 Geographically, Geidam lies in the northernmost part of the province, in fact, the northernmost part of Nigeria, since the border separating Nigeria from the independent country of 133 Niger is only twenty miles north. The land is a flat sandy [137] plain, with scrub vegetation which becomes increasingly more

A. Theoretical Concepts

121 Since the present study is concerned with the process of acculturation as it occurs within the various groups which make up the social structure of the community of Geidam, It is necessary to describe precisely the theoretical concepts which will be employed.

1. Concepts dealing with social structure.

Some time back Raymond Firth attempted to clarify the problem of dealing analytically with a changing social system. This is precisely the problem of the present study. Firth differentiated between social structure and social organization, noting that, "Continuity is expressed in the social structure, the sets of relations which make for firmness of expectation, for validation of past experience in terms of similar experience in the future. Members of a society look for a reliable guide to action, and the structure of the society gives this--through its family and kinship system, class relations, occupational distribution, and so on. At the same time there must be room for variance and for the explanation of variance. This is found in the social organization, the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision."[1] The basic distinction which Firth makes will be adhered to in the present discussion. In addition, his introduction of the notion of

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1. Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co. 1951), p. 40.

121 choices through which social relations are ordered will serve as a focal point in the discussion of acculturation which follows.

The first necessary set of distinctions to be made in analyzing social structure is that which differentiates social groups from social categories. A social group is typified by a high degree of interaction among its members and an internal structuring of its membership. A social category is not internally structured, nor do its members interact frequently. Its definition is dependent on the common response which members of a category will make towards members of another category, and consequently a social category is defined by the interchangeability of its members in contrast to other categories. A family, household, or lineage is an example of a social group; fathers, household heads and aristocrats are examples of social categories. Social categories can shade into social groups since they sometimes take on the defining characteristics of a group to some degree.

The definition of a social category put forth here may be compared with that used by Fortes in the following selection. "Just what we mean by a homogeneous society is still rather vague though we all use the term lavishly. The working definition I make use of is that a homogeneous society is ideally one in which any person in the sense given to this term by Radcliffe-Brown in his recent (1950) essay, can be substituted for any other person of the same category without bringing

about changes in the social structure. This implies that any two persons of the same category have the same body of customary usages and beliefs."[1] The qualification "of the same category" used by Fortes is obviously intended to refer only to age and sex categories, for an extension of the idea of social categories beyond this limited notion would allow the substitution of individuals of the same category in any society, even the most complex societies. Since Fortes was defining a homogeneous society, he could not have meant to imply this extension of the concept of "category." It is precisely this extension which is the aim of the definition of social category put forth here.

Social category is merely another way to look at status. Instead of emphasizing position, as the concept of status does, social category emphasizes the similarities between individuals who occupy the same status. Social groups are almost always internally ordered into differing statuses, but social categories (or statuses) can exist without being social groups.

Linton proposed the paired concepts of status and role--the latter term to be used in referring to behavior which is associated with a given status. The concepts of status and of role are most readily seen in paired, or dyadic relationships. The status of ego is clarified when it is contrasted with the status of alter. Ego's role can only be seen when he inter-

1. Meyer Fortes, Op. cit., p. 36.

• 121 acts with alter, so that the concept of role is really a reciprocal one which depends on the interaction of two or more people.

Robert Merton has recently proposed extensions of the concepts of role and status.[1] He views each social status as involving not a single role but an array of roles, and he suggests the term "role-set" for this cluster of roles associated with a single status. The particular role which an individual "selects" is dependent on the group of individuals with whom he is interacting at a given time. His role will vary in accordance with the nature of these "alters." In the presence of one set of individuals he plays one role and behaves accordingly; in the presence of a different set of individuals he plays a different role and his behavior toward them is very different from that which he showed in the presence of the previous group. Analogous to Merton's idea of role-set is his term status-set, which refers to the multiple statuses which any individual occupies. In each of the many statuses which make up an individual's status-set, he has an associated role-set. At any given time, his one active status determines his role-set, and the particular role which he enacts or chooses from the role-set is determined by the individual (or group of individuals) with whom he is interacting at the time.

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1. Robert Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," The British Journal of Sociology, VIII, No. 2, (1957), pp. 106-120.

(12) In considering the simplest forms of interaction between two individuals, it is apparent that roles involve behavior which may be appropriate or inappropriate on the part of both individuals. Linton referred to appropriate behavior on the part of the role-player as his duty, and to the appropriate behavior of his alter as his right. "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties."[1] Goodenough, in a recent paper, focuses his attention on the formal analysis of status-connected rights and duties.[2] Rather than rights and duties, the terms that will be used here are: expectations and obligations. Expectations and obligations are terms introduced by Goffman.[3] They are preferable to Linton's terms because they have less connotation of legal sanctions, and refer rather to every-day behavior. Goffman uses the concepts with great effect, for example, to analyze "good" and "bad" manners. Role behavior therefore refers to reciprocal behavior in which the individ-

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1. Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1936), p. 113.

2. Ward H. Goodenough, "Formal Properties of Status Relationships," paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, November, 1961. (mimeographed).

3. Erving Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," American Anthropologist, 58, No. 3 (1956), p. 473-503.

• 121 pals in interacting roles both have their obligations to act in certain ways, as well as their expectations of how the other will act. As Goodenough points out, the terms are complementary: ego's obligations are alter's expectations, ego's expectations are alter's obligations. For an interaction to continue, obligations and expectations must conform with one another.

Choosing a particular role from a role-set automatically determines one's relevant obligations and expectations. What are the factors that lead an individual to choose one role from a number of possible roles in his role-set when he encounters another individual? The two primary factors are: his perception of the "others" whom he meets and with whom he interacts, and his view of himself (or the self which he wishes to present to others). Goffman's writings in this area of social perception are most illuminating, and show a remarkable convergence with the approach of S. F. Nadel. Nadel states, "We can express more sharply the variability of the actor as against the constancy of the contribution expected of him by describing the latter as a part meant to be played. Which is precisely what the role concept is designed to do."[1] This analogy between roles and actors, parts and performances, becomes Goffman's central theme.[2] Goffman is equally interested in actor and

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1. S. F. C. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), p. 21.

2. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959.

• 12| audience. Both actors and audience perceive one another as members of social categories, and each anticipates appropriate behavior from the other. Each actor guides his own behavior by the "presentation" he seeks to make and in accordance with his judgment of how it is perceived by others. If his judgments are correct, expectations are met and the interaction continues because it is understood by both participants. Goffman is particularly interested in the manner in which the actor initially presents himself, the impression that he conveys to others (the audience, from his point of view--but actors too, in the interaction), and the social categories into which others will place him. An interesting problem is that of the pertinent cues in any culture on the basis of which these judgments are made, for these cues determine the categories into which others are placed and, consequently, one's obligations to those individuals as well as one's expectations of how they will behave.

One may present a paradigm at this point. Given a particular social context which several individuals approach with desired goals, the factors entering into the choice of appropriate behavior for each of the participants would be as follows:

a) the individual's perception of himself (or the self which he wishes to present);

b) his perception of alter in the same social context;

c) his perceptions of sanctions and rewards which can proceed from each of several roles in his role-set that he might choose from;

• 121 d) his choice of appropriate behavior, in accordance with his perceptions, for achieving the goals with which he approached the situation.

One can choose innumerable examples to illustrate this process. The easiest to imagine is the encounter of adolescent boy and girl, in any culture.

For most encounters and interactions of this sort, the rewards are no more specific than the continuation of the interaction; sanctions of the severest sort may be brought about by abrupt termination of the interaction by alter. Sometimes sanctions of this sort are desired, by either ego or alter, as when one snubs someone or cuts someone dead. At other times sanctions occur because ego (or alter) has not perceived some aspect of the situation appropriately. "Bad" manners may be due to either possibility. The introduction of the notion of sanctions when expectations of what is appropriate are not met is central to the view of social structure presented here. The threat of sanctions is one of the forces which maintains the operation of any social organization.

The central problem of the present study is the delineation of social groups and categories of the community under study, and the identification of some of the distinctive role-sets of each group and category in terms of the obligations and expectations which make up the roles. It is necessary also to know something of how the members of these groups and categories perceive themselves, and those in other categories.

• 121 Lastly, it is important to know the goals, the rewards, and the sanctions in Kanuri culture. In terms of this set of basic concepts the functioning of certain aspects of Kanuri culture will be viewed through the interactions and relationships between social groups and social categories in the community of Geidam.

2. Concepts dealing with acculturation.

The view of acculturation put forth here hinges upon the idea of choices or alternatives discussed by Firth. In a recent article, Leach has used this as his central concept in analyzing Sinhalese social organization. Leach concludes by saying, "... social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules."[1] In the above quote Leach is using social structure to describe what Firth would term social organization. Murdock, in his introduction to the volume in which Leach's essay appears, comments that "... jural rules themselves are the 'outcome of multiple individual choices' in situations where one kind of choice is likely to be appreciably more strongly or regularly rewarded than possible alternative choices.... Leach's position seems to me to have the enormous advantage of making possible the utilization

1. E. R. Leach, "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in Social Structure in Southeast Asia, edited by George P. Murdock (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), pp. 123-124.

• (2) of psychological principles and of scientific knowledge concerning the dynamics of cultural change in the interpretations of cultural systems."[1]

Alternatives are probably present in all cultures to some extent, and a degree of variation is implied in Leach's statement that social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices. Indeed, one can view deviants in a culture from this point of view, as individuals who have chosen behavioral alternatives which differ from the cultural norm. In the present study, however, we are concerned with alternatives which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with external sources. It is clear from the picture of Kanuri culture presented above that these alternatives have been introduced as possibilities in certain aspects of Kanuri culture, and to certain groups and categories but not to others. The groups and categories which are most affected are those which are in regular interaction with the sources of outside influence.

New alternatives are presented to these groups and categories, and when members of these groups and categories exercise choices which have become newly available to them, variations in behavior are introduced. When choices and decisions represent variations that are consistently in one direction, away from cultural norms, then culture change is occurring in

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1. George P. Murdock, "Cognatic Forms of Social Organization," ibid., p. 9.

• 121 that group. If the consistent acceptance of new choices continues for a sufficiently long period, or involves the introduction of radically new alternatives, it will alter the relationship between that group and other groups and categories in the culture. It may even lead to the formation of new social groups or categories. In either case we would say that the social structure itself would then have become altered.

In such a group or category undergoing acculturation, roles are undergoing expansion and change. This implies that the obligations and expectations of its members are also changing. It was noted above that the choice of a particular role in a role-set was dependent on the "others" with whom the individual in question was interacting, that furthermore it depended on the view of the "self" that he wished to present, the view of "others" that he held in relation to himself, and the view of himself that he thought others might see and believe. In an acculturation situation each of these conditions is undergoing change. The individual's view of himself is no longer a stable one, since, as his position in relation to others changes, his view of himself changes. The self that he wishes to present to others may consequently not be clear either to himself or to them, and he will be even less sure of how credible this "self" will be to others, whether they will accept it and act on it.

An acculturation situation therefore is one in which errors in perception of many sorts are possible. The relationship between groups and categories is undergoing change, and

121 members of differing groups are no longer secure in their expectations from others. Though the larger cultural goals may continue to operate, groups may find that previously unattainable goals are now within reach. Though the nature of sanctions may remain the same, individuals are uncertain when they might anticipate sanctions. In choosing a particular path to achieve his goals, an individual may find that his behavior towards others brings about sanctions. He then must determine whether he can achieve his goals despite these sanctions, and whether the goals are worth the difficulties which are thus brought about, or whether he must abandon behavior of that sort.

B. The Nature of the Data.

12 The data on which the present study is based lie along two dimensions, social structure and acculturation. The manner in which data was chosen for study and collected for each of these variables will be discussed in the following section.

1. Delineating community social structure.

124 Eight groups and categories were selected for analysis. These certainly do not exhaust the total number of social groups and categories to be found in the community of Geidam. They merely represent eight clearly definable social units, each operating within a distinctive sphere of Kanuri culture. These eight groups and categories are themselves resultant from the interaction of variables which bring about community social

124 the part of the investigator with respect to the variable of acculturation can have played little or no part in obtaining the present results, since the various groups and categories which were used in the study themselves differ in the areas of culture in which they are acculturated. There is no simple division into acculturated and unacculturated groups.

2. Measures of Acculturation.

• 121 114 Much of the year spent in the field in the town of Geidam was devoted to work in two problem areas: delineation of community social structure, which was described above, and working out measures of acculturation. In the final three months spent in Geidam the actual data on which the present study is based [122] were collected. Until that time it was necessary to acquire a general understanding of Kanuri culture, to learn the language, and to see the areas in which Kanuri culture was most affected by external influences.

125 124 Data on acculturation were acquired through a questionnaire-interview, administered in Kanuri to forty-four informants. The questionnaire comprises seventy-five parts, many of these long and complex questions requiring discursive answers. It took approximately two hours to interview each informant.

125 177 Thirty of the seventy-five questions were concerned with measures of acculturation. These are presented in Table XIV. It can be seen that the measures of acculturation refer to a wide variety of behavioral areas. These include: language; posses-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

125 or category within the social structure. There are five miscellaneous questions at the end of the interview.

C. The Relationship between Social Structure and Acculturation.

• 121 An individual's position as a member of a social group or social category is considered to be the independent variable in the present study. The manner and the rate in which he becomes acculturated is considered to be dependent on his position in the social structure. It is possible to derive several general hypotheses from this basic view. These are:

1. Groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation.
2. Groups and categories in the social structure acculturate in differing areas of culture at different rates. These differences are determined by the relation of the particular group or category to a given aspect of culture (economics, political organization, etc.).

The above hypotheses are straightforward and easily tested by comparing various groups as to their relative degree of acculturation in several areas. They derive directly from the position that new behavioral alternatives are made available to certain groups and categories in the social structure, so that these groups show evidence of acculturation long before others. Furthermore, members of groups and categories become aware of new alternatives in certain areas of culture because their role

• 12| behavior falls largely in these areas. They may therefore become acculturated in certain behavioral areas but not in others.

3. Groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in others.

A group which has become very acculturated has altered its relationship to other groups within the social structure. As it continues to deviate further and further, it ceases to meet the expectations of others who begin to exert sanctions against the deviant group. Unless that group leaves the culture, which is always a possibility, it must respond to the sanctions. The predicted method of response will be to reaffirm their acceptance of group opinion by adhering even more strictly to the cultural norms in some other behavioral area.

The nature of the sanctions which operate in the above situation depend on the acculturating group and its relationship to other groups. Sanctions arise as this group interacts with others in the social structure. The principles which govern the relationships between groups and categories continue to operate in a situation of rapid culture change, preventing any single group from changing radically so long as it continues to remain part of the same social structure, by the exercise of various forms of sanctions, which may be extremely subtle in character.

[GEIDAM]

Table XV.

124 Age distribution of the sample and of each of the eight groups

	Mean age	Range
NA Malams	32.67	25-44
Talaka	36.5	22-51
Low-status Individuals	37.75	25-47
Aristocracy	39.4	24-56
Entire sample median = 40	39.55	22-60
Craftsmen	40.0	30-57
Koranic Malams	43.67	30-56
Canteen Operators	43.67	40-47
Kabuna	45.67	35-60

for each of the eight groups which are compared in this chapter are also given in Table XV. The means of six of the eight groups are within four years of the mean age of the entire sample. The two extreme groups, the NA Malams (mean age = 32.67) and the kabuna (mean age = 45.67) are in one case somewhat younger and in the other case somewhat older than the entire group. [121] This age difference might be expected to have some effect on the hypotheses advanced earlier, since one might expect younger individuals to be more acculturated than older individuals. [632] Unfortunately, the NA Malams as a group tend to be young, so that the head-master of the school is only twenty-five years old. Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, is forty-four years old and has been included in the sample. He is probably the oldest NA Malam in the town. Conversely, the Kabuna tend to be an older group, and the thirty-five and thirty- 124 *634

124 seven year old Kabuna are probably among the youngest members
*634 of the entire group. This is because Yerima Mustapha will keep potential Kabuna in minor positions for some years before he feels that they are ready for the responsibility of performing
• [121] a Kabuna's role and gives them a horse. Although age is probably a variable in determining an individual's degree of acculturation, it is secondary to his position within a given group or category as will be demonstrated in the succeeding
*634 pages of this section. Though the Kabuna are older as a
*177 group, they nevertheless tend to be acculturated in specific areas. Though the NA Malams are younger as a group, they tend to be acculturated in certain areas and not in others. Age as a variable will be examined in detail in a later section.

A. Analysis of Responses to the Thirty Acculturation Measures.

*177 The first acculturation measure to be discussed is know-
191 ledge of languages other than Kanuri, presented as Table XVI. Twenty-seven members of the sample speak some Hausa; 18 speak Hausa well; 9 speak a little Hausa. Sixteen speakers of Hausa
*[365] are found in three groups: Aristocracy (4), Canteen Operators
*[463] (6), NA Malams (6). This is clearly related to the importance of the Hausa language in two spheres of activity: trade and
*177 administration. All of the traders speak some Hausa; this is
191 because Hausa is widespread as the trade language throughout
441 Northern Nigeria. Europeans in trade learn to speak Hausa rather

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 253]

128 *177 to a consideration of age as a variable in acculturation. The acculturation measures have all been discussed so that it is now possible to examine them in relation to the ages of responding individuals.

• 121 *177 In terms of the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter IV, relative age of individuals would be expected to effect their degree of acculturation and the behavioral areas in which they exhibited acculturation in a general way. Age categories in any culture represent one of the universal forms of status differentiation, and age differences may be equated with status differences in Kanuri culture. Roles therefore also differ with age--younger individuals within a larger status category have different roles from older individuals within that same status category. Thus expectations and obligations of younger people differ from those of older people, and a younger person might be expected to seek to present a different "self" from an older person merely because of the difference in their ages. Much of the difference in role behavior between young and old people may be attributed to the time required to adequately learn complex roles, so that young people may be allowed much leeway in their behavior and this may be explained as due to their not yet having learned behavior appropriate to mature roles.

In the light of the differences in role between younger and older individuals postulated above, one might expect differences in acculturation. Since a basic assumption throughout has been that acculturation proceeds more rapidly in segments of

[GEIDAN]

[21] the acculturating society which interact with agents of contact
#177 in the course of the performance of their normal roles, it can be predicted that the freedom of behavior permitted to younger people would result in more exploratory behavior on their part and greater interaction with agents of Western culture. This increased contact in turn would result in a greater degree of acculturation in certain behavioral areas. However, an interesting question arises here. Does the acculturated behavior of younger people persist as they grow older, or does their increasing age require them to give up acculturated sorts of behavior in favor of traditional behavior which is more appropriate to older status? Some of the indices of acculturation noted in younger people may become sources of acculturation throughout the culture, while others may represent temporary phases in the life-cycle which drop out in later years.

128
#177 In order to examine the effect of age on acculturation, the individuals making up the sample were divided into two groups. The younger group is made up of individuals below the median age for the entire sample. There are 23 individuals in this group, and their ages range from 22 to 40. The older group is made up of individuals above the median age, and their ages range from 41 to 60. There are only 21 individuals in the older group (compared with 23 in the younger), because the frequency at the median did not permit an even split. These two groups were then compared as to degree of acculturation for the thirty acculturation measures which have already been described in order

*177 when traveling. One item discussed in the text, occupations
128 in which individuals wish to be engaged (Table XXXII), could not be included in the acculturation profiles as the answers to that question did not permit expression as simple percentages.

•121 Several points emerge clearly from a consideration of the
*177 acculturation profiles. First of all, it is apparent that some groups are generally more acculturated than other groups--most of their responses fall within the acculturated column. Others are generally unacculturated and their responses cluster in the unacculturated column. Secondly, in no group do we find that all responses, in every behavioral area, are acculturated or unacculturated. Each group has behavioral areas in which it appears most acculturated, others in which it is close to the entire sample, and still others in which it appears unacculturated. Finally, from a comparison of the eight acculturation profiles, one can derive a measure of the relative stability of
[128] each group. A stable group is determined by the consistency of responses. A group would be said to be stable when (a) the items within any one behavioral area are consistently in one direction, and (b) the size of the differences between acculturated and unacculturated responses is not very great.

*177 1. Aristocracy. The acculturation profile of the Aris-
565 tocracy is presented in Table XL. The Aristocracy are obviously an acculturated group on the whole, as almost all of their responses fall on the acculturated side of the baseline. In

121 The present study approached the problem of acculturation in the Kanuri community of Geidam through community social structure. From the theoretical position put forth in Chapter IV several hypotheses were derived. Data were then offered through which these hypotheses might be examined. While one could not claim that these hypotheses were "proved" by the data presented here, they were nevertheless upheld throughout.

121 *177 The first hypothesis stated that groups and categories making up the social structure of a community vary in their degree of acculturation. The general degree of acculturation of each of the eight groups and categories can be readily ascertained from the acculturation profiles presented in Chapter V, and the groups can be ranked in the following manner:

1.	Acculturated groups:	NA Malams Aristocracy
2.	Intermediary groups:	Canteen Operators Talaka
3.	Unacculturated groups:	Kabuna Low-status Individuals Koranic Malams Craftsmen

The extent of difference between the acculturated and the unacculturated groups above would tend to verify hypothesis 1.

The second hypothesis stated that groups and categories in the social structure would acculturate in different behavioral areas at different rates. An examination of the acculturation profiles reveals that this is generally the case. The most acculturated groups (NA Malams and Aristocracy) re-

veal areas in which they are unacculturated; the most unacculturated groups similarly reveal areas of behavior in which they are acculturated. That these differences in degree of acculturation are determined by the relation of a given group or category to that area of behavior, as is stated in the second sentence of hypothesis 2, is readily apparent from the data. Explanations of these differences in the above discussion have repeatedly sought to relate them to the roles of the group concerned. If these explanations have been convincing, then hypothesis 2 may be said to have been upheld.

It is somewhat more difficult to discuss the implications of the data which have been presented above for hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that groups and categories which have become acculturated in certain areas will show strong tendencies to reaffirm strict behavioral norms in other areas. The position of a group within the existing social structure plays an important part not only in determining the areas in which acculturation is likely to occur but also in determining those behavioral areas in which acculturation would not be expected to occur--i.e., those areas in which the group reaffirms traditional behavioral norms.

This may be illustrated by selecting three of the groups whose profiles have been presented in the previous chapter for comparison. The three groups are the following:

a) NA Malams - acculturated and stable.
b) Canteen Operators - intermediary in acculturation and unstable.
c) Craftsmen - unacculturated and stable.

The NA Malams are the most acculturated group of the eight which have been described. How would one account for the fact that

[GEIDAM]

177 of marrying an educated woman, but extremely conservative about
441 permitting her to work as a school-teacher. In fact, their
156 response to this question seems to be exaggerated in its adherence to upper class traditional Kanuri norms.

121 The behavior of the group of Canteen Operators, compared
177 to that of the NA Malams and the Craftsmen, is entirely consist-
441 ent with the predictions made in hypothesis 3. They have be-
156 come acculturated in certain behavioral areas as a result of the interactions brought about by their roles in trade. Their new status in the community has resulted in further acculturation in still other areas (attitudes towards arbitration of disputes, attitudes towards generosity and charity). But their need to reaffirm their Kanuri identity and to validate their new positions in Kanuri society has led them to underline their affirmation of traditional Kanuri values, frequently by assuming exaggerated poses. Their behavior lends support to the third hypothesis advanced earlier.

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121 The theoretical significance of the present study is in the view of acculturation which has been put forth. Heretofore, acculturation studies have relied heavily on two types of approach: (1) the relationship between acculturation and personality variables (as exemplified by the writings of Hallowell, Wallace, Caudill, Vogt and Mead), and (2) the attempt to delineate which areas of culture change most rapidly as a result of contact and which areas of culture remain resistant to change.

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12| The view adopted in the present study is that culture contact does not occur through the meeting of two amorphous and cloud-like masses, which is the underlying assumption of the approaches indicated above. To assume that certain personality types are receptive to culture change while other personality types are resistant to change is to imagine the contact situation in entirely unstructured terms, in which individuals of one personality type gravitate towards agents of contact while individuals of still a different personality type shrink from the agents of contact and thus remain unacculturated. Similarly, an approach which attempts to isolate those aspects of culture which change most rapidly (technology, for example) from still other aspects of culture (religion, social organization) which are most resistant to change, also assumes an unstructured contact situation in which two amorphous entities come into contact and bring about changes in areas most susceptible to change.

These simplistic views of acculturation overlook an elementary anthropological lesson. Culture and society are equally present, and society implies structure. Every ongoing society functions through a system of social organization, and in every case of culture contact two social structures are to be found in interaction. In recent years several anthropologists have realized the weaknesses in the common approach to acculturation problems, and have advocated an emphasis on so-

cial structure.[1] However, only Raymond Firth has put forth a systematic view of social structure which is inclusive enough to be useful in analyzing situations of culture change.[2]

The approach suggested by Firth in several of his works has provided the basis for the conceptual framework of the present study. This has been elaborated somewhat by borrowing from other writers (notably Linton, Nadel, Merton, Goffman, and Leach) in order to construct what might be called a rudimentary role theory. The theoretical approach put forth here is sufficiently broad to be able to handle problems in several fields, among them: social structure, deviance and social control, and socialization. In the present study it was applied to a problem of acculturation.

It is hoped that the analysis of Kanuri acculturation which has been presented here has succeeded in shedding light on the general process of culture change. If this has been the case, then the theoretical approach will have been validated.

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1. Edward H. Spicer, Edward P. Dozier, and George C. Barker, "Social Structure and the Acculturation Process," American Anthropologist, 60, No. 3 (1958), 433-455.

   Robert F. Maher, "Social Structure and Cultural Change in Papua," American Anthropologist, 62, No. 4 (1960), 593-602.

2. Raymond Firth, "Social Organization and Social Change," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 84 (1954), 1-20.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 M814 Kanuri M814

Introduction

• 121 In studying a significant theoretical problem in a previously unstudied society, the anthropologist finds himself trying to cope with several problems at the same time. As a scientist he must focus his attention on those phenomena which deal specifically with his own sphere of study. As a field anthropologist he must also record data on the society and culture of a hitherto unrecorded, and often unique, segment of mankind using the skills of his discipline to ensure the reliability of this information. Difficulties may emerge because his theoretical problem often calls for a narrowing of observation, while the recording of new cultural and social data spreads the focus across the entire gamut of soci-cultural phenomena.

The present study is the writer's attempt at a compromise between these conflicting interests. The specific area of research upon which attention has been narrowed is that of change. The study as a whole seeks to describe and explain the trends of social change which have operated and are operating at present in the Kanuri society of Northern Nigeria. The general ethnographic problem arises from the fact that Kanuri culture and society have not been documented in the anthropological literature. In the pages to follow the reader is given a sufficiently wide view of the society in question so that the specific problem of change can be intelligibly linked to an understandable framework of social life as it is practised among the Kanuri.

To accomplish this rather broad objective, some limitations of scope are necessary which means that criteria of selection have to be imposed on the data. Put another way, any scientific enquiry is based upon assumptions. These direct the study along certain channels while

12.1 setting boundaries for the omission of what are hoped to be irrelevant materials. In the present work we have assumed the analytical separability of cultural and social phenomena and focused the enquiry on the latter. Culture is here defined as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artifacts produced by behaviour".(1) Society or the social system designates "the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities".(2) Parsons and Kroeber regard these distinctions as necessary and claim that neither should be directly reduced to terms of the other.(3) This means that the order of relationships within each can be treated as analytically independent from that in the other. Applied to the material at hand, it has been decided to remain within the level of the social system relating and describing phenomena at this level while for the most part omitting the cultural. The one important exception to this rule occurs in Chapter IX where patterns of consumption and distribution pertaining to such cultural materials as clothing, implements, and house types are systematically described and related to the social system. This has been deemed necessary because of the important relation which production and consumption bear to change in the society.

Using these self-imposed limits what emerges in the pages to follow is in no sense the "holistic" approach often attributed to anthropology. Thus very little is said of religion, witchcraft, techniques of pottery making, folk-lore, or the content of ceremonialism. Although the writer has gathered data on all these subjects they fall outside the limited scope of the present work.

(1) Kroeber, A.L. and Parsons, Talcott, The Concepts of Culture and Social System, ASR, 23, 5, 1958, p. 583
(2) Ibid: p. 583
(3) Ibid: p. 582

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Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are herein defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri transcends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hierarchically arranged for many of the most important functions of social life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the framework of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of opportunism which characterizes these social relations. Superior/subordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and authority. These variables make up a type of human action called governmental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible at all levels of human social organization.(1) Since it is relationships which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analytical purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of superior(s).

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Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasized that the writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

• 121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market modal view"(1) of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasizes social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analyzed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references.(2) 121 571 However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction",(3) or an adequate description of Kanuri social life.

114 123 The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence K. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.
(2) Ibid: p. 284
(3) Ibid: p. 284

614 origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the tibra clan:

> One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is tibra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

613 614 565 Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

614 829 Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

613 614 121 On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

nificance in the contemporary society. It should be noted that for purposes of the present study, the term "clan" refers to extra-lineage connections between persons with some understanding of common ancestry from an original mythical founder. As Africanists have used this term, clan does not necessarily refer to exogamous groups.

CHAPTER VI [p. 148]

The Life Cycle

• 121 In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialised.

561 As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the [571] only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

844 At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (<u>sartèma</u>). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as [846] other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

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162 This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygr-
• 121 nous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

428 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the older brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give [693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

• 12| Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lineage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split between collaterallity, as represented by the agnatic siblings of the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional law the sons have <u>more</u> rights than their paternal uncles to their father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

Chapter VII

Social Stratification

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The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

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As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri M814

and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or woman which included Non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

369 342 829 Another difference noticeable immediately to the stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush" the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several of the rich leaders in Borau were building, under private contract, city houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity, and cement floors. 216.

369 829 In Maguseri, complaints against rural people are always heard from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never carry a "bush" girl. [585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town, the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the dignitaries of Maguseri were of such a low quality that it became a standing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared, respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids the civil servantin the bush, unless his confidence is won over through continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

• 121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognize class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognizable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

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829 In the every day life of Bornu, the life spans of different individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Chapter IX

The Economic Life

592 For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife 128 or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

• 121 For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

829 It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

000 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

[P. 21]

The Success that Failed: An Experiment in Culture Change in Africa

By RONALD COHEN*

The economic and political development going on at this moment in the non-European areas of the globe is one of the truly monumental social revolutions in man's history, ranking in importance with both the neolithic and the urban 'revolutions' of the past. By the end of the present century, the standards of living of about two-thirds of the world's population will very likely have risen between five and ten times present level. The educational, political, religious, and social changes which will in all probability accompany this revolution are almost staggering to the imagination. However, that it is taking place is a simple fact. 121

At the core of this development are the changes and innovations in basic economic activities in the every day lives of people the world over, for these hum-drum practices are the foundation stones upon which higher living standards are built. Central planning, financial and technical assistance, and political policies, all make crucial contributions to economic development. However the full measure of cultural changes, and in this case technological innovation, requires the painstaking description and analysis which is the hallmark of anthropological research techniques. Like other social sciences, anthropology uses the data of man's social life for its empirical basis. But unlike other social scientists, the anthropologist observes the data of the human experience through his intimate face-to-face contact with the people from day to day throughout his field

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4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
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121 work. This means that minute details of innovation and social life in general can be recorded at the level of the "common man" as contrasted with the analysis of regional or national productivity figures, or of government policies, or United Nations statistics. What emerges is not, therefore, a total picture of the development process, but rather a grass roots view of the reaction to planned culture change by the people at whom the programme was aimed in the first place.

The purpose of this article is to document and analyse an innovation that succeeded technically, and yet failed because the human components of the innovation experience were not taken into account.

101 The place is Africa, the time is 1956-57. But it could very well be the Near East, Asia or South America, anytime between 1940 and 1960. The people are the Kanuri of Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria, but they could be peasants anywhere.

The Context

174 The Kanuri of Bornu province in northeastern Nigeria have
175 been organized as a Muslim emirate in the Chad basin for
[130] many centuries. Their language classification by Greenberg
[642] (1954), early Arabic sources, and the scattered work of a few interested scholars, supports the notion of their continuity in the region, with possible origins somewhere to the northeast of
[197] their present habitat. The pre-colonial emirate kept up continual trade and cultural contacts with the Maghreb during its long history as an organized state.

161 The Kanuri number about one and a half million. The
311 population density is approximately sixty per square mile and there is no pressure on farmland, which can be extended simply by clearing new bush areas further away from the population
433 settlements. The majority of the people are peasants who carry
241 on three analytically separable economic activities. These consist
44 of (1) farming, primarily millet and guinea corn, supplemented by maize, beans, squashes, cucumbers, and groundnuts, (2) cash
[434] cropping, mostly groundnuts, and (3) a dry season non-farming activity connected with the market. Market activities are in

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

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[829]

own farm plot. This added to the general impression of the fertilizer as an intrusive item, and one which had no practical value under local conditions.

Conclusion

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The human side of innovation has often been emphasized as being just as important as the technological. The Magumeri experience reiterates the fact that the social and psychological context of innovation requires careful analysis so that variables affecting innovation may be isolated and prepared for before any development programmes are put into action. If the place of social relations, as compared to technology, in farm production had been taken into account, the results of this experiment might well have been less disappointing. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that all technology is imbedded in a welter of cultural accretions. It is the responsibility of the innovator to isolate cultural characteristics of technology which are necessary to its successfull operation, from those which are simply there because of the cultural origins of the item. This is what lies at the root of flexibility as opposed to rigidity in the introduction of western technology to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

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